

**The Director of Central Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20505**

National Intelligence Council

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29 November 1983

**MEMORANDUM FOR:** Chief of Public Affairs  
Office of External Affairs

FROM : [REDACTED] Assistant National Intelligence Officer for Western Europe  
SUBJECT : Naval Post-graduate Conference of 11-13 December 1983

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As part of my participation in the Naval Post-graduate Conference of 11-13 December, I have been asked to be a discussant on a panel dealing with West Europe and the INF issue. Presentations on Soviet Theater Doctrine, the Peace Movement, and the Dilemmas of Nuclear Weapons in Europe, will be made. My brief comments (15 minutes) as a discussant of the presentations will be based on panelists' remarks (no papers are yet available) and prepared comments attached.

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**Attachment  
a/s**

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Prepared Comments: The West European Research Agenda

1. General Theme: West Europe is again a subject of major interest to policymakers and political scientists. After years of relative calm and benign neglect, we see a number of major issues and potential crises: INF, enlargement of the EC, Spain's accession to NATO and Cyprus. Others will be added as time goes on, and university specialists need to be examining European thinking about Alliance politics, relations with the Soviets and as well as analyzing new domestic determinants of European security policies.

2. One critical concern: the absence of a new generation of Atlanticist scholars. Not only is the post-war Atlanticist policy elite leaving the scene, but there are very few academic specialists who are attempting to look at the Alliance in a broad fashion to discern what the future trends in European politics are likely to be. The lack of research funds -- particularly in the 1960s and 1970s when attention was drawn to China, the Third World, Latin America, etc. -- has meant that there is no large core of younger scholars who have made the Alliance their major research focus.

On the positive side, there is a great body of outstanding scholars who follow specialized topics or a single country. However, this wealth of talent is seldom harnessed to the broader questions about the future of European unity, Europe's security options, or its relations with the US and the Soviet Union. Hence, I would make a plea that three research topics be explored in greater depth.

3. Soviet-European relations: There are very few recognized American scholars on this vital topic. Europeans, of course, study it in greater detail, again focusing on specific country relations with the Soviet Union. To some degree, there are American specialists who follow FRG-USSR ties, and the literature shows that both Soviet scholars and Europeanists recognize this as a continuing key issue. But the broader question of how Western Europe's relations with Moscow will evolve and what strategies the Soviets might adopt in trying to wean Europeans from US influence has not received enough attention. Studies on Soviet relations with France, Britain, Italy are lacking, as are research projects on the broader European approach to detente with the Soviet Union.

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4. European Defense Options: Here is an old topic that should be receiving renewed attention. Again, Europeans are in the forefront of elevating this topic for discussion (e.g., Hedley Bull's articles on the subject stand out). Few American scholars, however, have examined European defense cooperation since the 1960s, when the MLF idea gave birth to the notion that at some future point Europe might be required to provide for its own nuclear defense. There is accumulating evidence that West Europeans will be thinking about, if not acting on, the merits of providing for more of their defense -- either as a way of reducing US influence and perhaps removing Europe somewhat from the US-Soviet competition, or in response to a weakened US commitment to Europe.

How serious is this thinking? What forms will European defense cooperation take? How will it deal with the persistent problem of Germany? All of these questions and more should be re-examined in the 1980s, given the new circumstances of NATO's nuclear policies, its conventional defense possibilities, and growing public involvement in security matters.

5. Domestic Determinants of Europe's Defense: This brings me to the third vital topic on the research agenda. Increasingly, we see publics and the media participating actively in the making of foreign and defense policy. INF deployment is, of course, the premier issue where we see this phenomenon. But it is not the only issue. US Central American policy, NATO defense spending limits, East-West trade policies have all been, to some degree, shaped by domestic factors -- ranging from greater criticism of US policies by the large Socialist parties of Europe to the birth of anti-nuclear, anti-growth, environmental parties in key NATO countries like West Germany. Added to this new domestic environment is slower economic growth, which has placed greater pressure on governments to economize on both welfare programs and defense.

This new mixture of political and economic factors is bound to influence the direction of Alliance policies. But questions remain about whether economic growth can be revived, whether governments in the face of a Soviet military challenge will take steps to reverse NATO's conventional weaknesses, or whether the politics of austerity in the 1980s will ultimately force even pro-defense governments to sacrifice NATO force goals and seek political solutions (such as arms control) to Europe's defense problems. This is perhaps the most difficult question to ponder, since it will depend so heavily on the interactions among European states, as well as the actions of the United States and the Soviet Union.